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Ulster and Home rule

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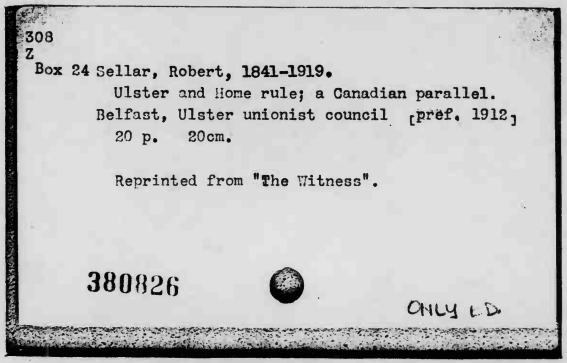

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Ulster and Home Rule:

A CANADIAN PARALLEL.

By Mr. ROBERT SELLAR, Quebec,
Author of "The Tragedy of Quebec."

Reprinted from "The Witness."

PRICE ONE PENNY.

Printed by The Belfast Steam-Printing Co., Ltd., Royal Avenue, and published by The Ulster Unionist Council, Old Town Hall, Belfast.

Mss. 11, 1916-B 03

A FOREWORD

By Rev. Wm. Patterson, D.D, Belfast.

Mr. Sellar's letters on "Ulster and Home Rule, a Canadian Parallel," which appeared recently in *The Witness* were very widely read, not only by Presbyterians but by a large circle connected with other denominations, and I am delighted to know that they are appearing in pamphlet form. Having lived twenty years in Canada, and as long in Ireland, I am supposed to know a little about both countries, and therefore I would like to say a few things about these letters. It is needless to say they are well written, and reveal the ability of the author and his thorough knowledge of the subject. I want to say first of all that they are true to the facts of the case, and instead of them being exaggerated the truth is under stated as to the baneful influence of Rome in that Province. Secondly, should Home Rule become law in Ireland the Protestant minority would be in a worse position than the Protestants of Quebec, for the safeguards would not be as good or effective as they are there. According to Liberals, like Doctors Clifford and Horton, Home Rule means Rome Rule, for Rome must rule where and when it is possible for her to do so; she must persecute heretics, and Protestants are the worst heretics. Anyone who reads these letters of Mr. Sellars will see that Rome has been doing these very things in Quebec, and the Dominion of Canada is waking up to the seriousness of the situation. I have met some Protestants in Canada who think Home Rule would be alright for Ireland, but they belong to one of two classes, either those who do not understand the situation in Ireland, or those who are so party blind that, like Dr. Horton, they would favour what they know would ruin Protestantism for the sake of what is known to Politicians as a political principle, but I never yet met a Canadian Protestant from any Province of the Dominion who would be willing to have his Province governed by the Province of Quebec. If you read these letters over carefully with an unbiased mind you will pray that the good Lord may deliver Ireland from a government such as they have in Quebec, from the galling yoke of the Roman Hierarchy.

May, 1912

Ulster and Home Rule:

A CANADIAN PARALLEL.

Reprinted from the Belfast *Witness*.

I.

There is a striking resemblance between the position of the Protestants in the Province of Quebec and that of the Protestants of Ireland. Both are in a minority, both are mainly gathered in a few counties, both are regarded by the majority as aliens and intruders, and in both countries the great employers of labour, the leaders in commerce and manufactures, the chief capitalists, are Protestant. That they are widely separated, that the Atlantic rolls between them, makes no difference in the conditions they have to face, for it is the same foe that dominates the Protestants of Quebec as is now menacing the Protestants of Ireland. It follows, therefore, that the experience of the one ought to be of value to the other. This is especially true at the present juncture of affairs in Ireland, when it is proposed to break its Union with Great Britain, for the Protestants of Quebec can tell the result of being separated from Ontario and left in the power of a Catholic majority.

WHEN THE UNION WAS BROKEN.

At one time Canada was treated as a Crown Colony, ruled directly from Downing Street. When Canada was given self-government by the Imperial Parliament, Quebec and Ontario were joined for Legislative purposes. The Catholics of Quebec resisted union with Ontario, kept up an agitation to repeal it, and to be given a Legislature of their own. The course pursued by the Quebec members brought on a deadlock, when, as a means of overcoming it, the plan was suggested of all the Canadian Provinces being united to form a Dominion, each Province to have a Legislature of its own to transact local business, and a joint Parliament for such matters as concerned them as a whole. This proposal was resisted by the Protestants of Quebec because it involved separation from Ontario, and would leave them at the mercy of a majority controlled by a foreign power. Under the Union, Protestants felt secure, for they had the protection of Ontario. In the proposal to break the Union and set Quebec up as a distinct unit, autonomous and self-governing, with a Legislature of its own, a Cabinet of Ministers and a Lieutenant-Governor—in a word, to constitute the Province of Quebec independent in every regard save those relations unavoidable to a federal compact—the Protestant minority saw their danger and resisted separation from Ontario. They urged that if the Union were broken they, who formed only a fraction of the population of Quebec, would be at the mercy of an overwhelming majority, swayed and directed by the priesthood. Their situation was exactly that of the minority in Ireland at the present time, who truly say that so long as Ireland is united to Britain they are safe, but the moment the tie is cut and they pass under the government of a Home Rule Legis-

lature they will be, as a people, abandoned to their enemies. The Protestants of Quebec, forty-five years ago, used exactly the same language as is to-day heard in Ulster. Not all, for there were other voices, coming from those who professed to be superior to prejudice, who scouted the idea of the Papacy being hostile to British rights, declaring the alarm was raised by those who were conjuring a ghost of the past to defeat a wise and desirable legislative measure. They expressed entire confidence in the majority, asserting Protestants would be as secure in their rights under them as in the Union with Ontario. They laughed at the fears of their co-religionists as silly prejudices, asking them to clasp hands with their Catholic neighbours in working out a glorious destiny for Quebec and all Canada.

WHAT THE LEADERS OF THE MAJORITY SAID.

The tone of the leading men on the Catholic side differed. There were those who resented the fears expressed by the minority as insults, for it imputed to them personally and to their Church a persecuting spirit—a charge they would treat with contempt, as undeserving of reply. Others, and they were by far the more numerous, laboured good-hnmouredly to remove the suspicion entertained by the minority that they would he at a disadvantage when separated from Ontario. They were assured they could lay aside their fears, for they would he smothered with kindness. The chivalrous feeling excited hy a weak minority trusting themselves confidingly to the majority would ensure them the tenderest care. They were authoritatively assured the majority would not only be zealous in protecting them in the rights they were enjoying, but would see to it that they would never be wounded in their religious susceptihilities. For weeks and months there was a flood of gushing speeches about brotherly kindness, chivalrous regard for the unprotected, respect for differences of belief, and praises of tolerance, forhearance, kindness. However, though they did not consider doing so necessary, they would waive the imputation on their sincerity hy consenting to having embodied in the new Constitution guarantees to protect the rights of the minority, educational and otherwise. The Union with Ontario was broken, and Quebec became an independent province. That was nigh forty-five years ago. Let the Protestants of Ireland attend to the developments of those years, for in what has happened the Protestants of Quehec they may read what will he their own fate under a Parliament in College Green.

AN OBJECT-LESSON TO THE UNIONISTS.

Nations, like individuals, would often like to see into the future—know how proposed measures of magnitude would result when put into force. That is impossible. Nations as well as individuals have to learn by experience. When, however, a great change is contemplated neither are left without a guide—individuals have the experience of others, nations have the experience of the past. Home Rule is proposed for Ireland. That being so, it is not prudent to inquire into how Home Rule has worked elsewhere? Canada presents as near a parallel to the situation in Ireland as can he found. Is it prudent to ignore the lesson Quebec teaches? Will the statesmen of the United Kingdom take no cognisance of what has happened on the banks of the St. Lawrence? Will they make no inquiry as to how Home Rule has affected the Protestant farmers of the Province of Quehec before applying that system to the Protestant farmers of Ireland? Surely a trial of over forty years of Home Rule in a British dependency is long enough to decide the question. Is it advisable to force it on the third partner in the United Kingdom? Politicians, set in their pre conceived ideas and looking to party interests, may not condescend to glance at the open page Quebec offers on the subject of Home Rule, but the Protestants of Ireland ought to study every word. On doing so they will be more strongly fortified than ever in their belief that Home Rule is really Rome Rule, and be made more determined in resisting it to the last gasp. What Quebec is to-day Ireland will become under Home Rule. Torn from the protecting arms of Great Britain, Irish Protestants may learn their fate in the story of the Protestants of Quebec, for as surely as night follows day, the conditions that have befallen their brethren across the Atlantic shall overtake them.

In the letters that follow this one I shall describe what has taken place in Quebec under Home Rule.

II.

The adoption of Home Rule for the Province of Quehec involved an election for the new Legislature. In that election the hand of the priests was first shown. Although, with hardly an exception, the candidates professed slavish subservieney to the hierarchy the bishops had their preferences, and issued orders indicating their choice. Several candidates who knew they had heen rejected because of clerical influence dared to seek redress in the Courts, asking the election to be quashed on the ground of interference by the priests. The trial Judge in one of these cases dismissed it, ruling that priests were above Statute Law, and were not amenable to secular Courts. Other Judges, more politic, rejected the petitions on technicalities. In the one case tried on the merits, evidence was led that proved heyond question that in addresses from the altar, in sermons, and private interviews electors had been warned as to how they were to vote, and it was always the Liberal candidate who was denounced. What was said in the confessional was not allowed to he repeated, Quebec law holding the professional privileged. Here, to prevent misconception, a word about party names. In Quehec the terms Conservative and Liberal have not the same meaning as in Ireland. The French word blen indicates a Conservative, and that is the equivalent of Ultramontane. Liberal, or rogue, indicates a Catholic who would like to see the priests shut out of secular affairs. So effective was clerical influence at elections that it looked as if the Liberals were going to be stamped out, each election seeing fewer returned. The tahooed politicians knew it was useless to seek redress in the Courts, or to look to either Ottawa or Westminster, so they appealed to Rome. Think of it, a party which comprised twenty-six members of a so-called British Legislature, appealed to a foreign country, and to a foreign potentate to remedy a domestic wrong! The petition was carried to Rome by delegates who got a hearing from a Papal dignitary, hut left without an answer. No reply was ever given to the petition, or the facts it quoted. Some time afterwards the Pope appointed an ablegate to represent him at Ottawa. This emissary of a foreign Court was received with adulation hy Catholic and Protestant politicians. In an unofficial way he held communication with the Liheral leaders, and then it hecame known they would have no more cause for complaint at election time. How this settlement was reached is not known. It is supposed he exacted such promises from the Liherals as enabled him to declare they were good sons of the Church, and that clerical denunciation of them was to cease. Now, mark what followed, for it exemplifies the tactics of the Papacy. This ablegate, after adjusting the difficulty hetween the faithful, did not leave, but remained at Ottawa, and his office was made permanent. From then until now there has been an Italian prelate watch-

ing the proceedings of the Provincial Legislatures and of the Federal Parliament, consulted by Ministers of the Crown as to measures where he considers his Church affected, and issuing the command as to how Catholic members shall vote. Ireland under Home Rule will have a like official, and his word will be more powerful than that of the electors. When a new and democratic country like Canada submits to a Papal mentor of its Parliament, how can Ireland be expected to resist?

THE PRIEST IN EDUCATION.

The interference of the priesthood in legislation has been most plainly seen in the laws regarding education. Their attitude was, "Our Church prescribes what the education of the young shall be, and we demand that the State shall supply the money to establish and maintain the schools Rome dictates. They asked that the Legislature place in their hands, without restriction or reservation, the school system. This the Legislature agreed to, and the schools, elementary and superior, were placed in the hands of the bishops. That was not all. The bishops asked that no Bill affecting education be introduced into the Legislature without being first submitted to the Archbishop of Quebec. If he withheld his approval, that ended the proposed measure. The result is that the bishops have complete control of the education of the rising generation, a power they use not for teaching the three R's, but primarily, for training the children in the doctrines and ritual of the Papacy. The schools of Quebec are part of the Church of Rome. The Legislature votes yearly £200,000 in the name of education, and in the spending of the money it has no voice—it is voted to be spent as the bishops may order. It is a palpable violation of a fundamental principle of constitutional government for a Legislature to hand over to an irresponsible body of ecclesiastics the control of what is the most important of its departments, and with it the necessary funds taken from the public chest. There is more, however, than violation of constitutional practice, there is a moral consideration. The course of study from the smallest country school to the largest city college is prescribed by the bishops, and no inconsiderable portion of the public money is allotted by them to convents and clerical institutions, among the latter being those of the Jesuits. All this is done with public money, by taxes levied on the people at large, of which an undue proportion is paid by Protestants, Jews, and other non-Catholics, who are thus compelled to contribute towards teaching doctrines which they do not believe, and to maintain institutions and their inmates to which they decidedly object. The money of the Jews is taken to teach children that the Hebrews are ontside salvation, and of the Protestants to maintain convents and teach Jesuits. The amount levied on non-Catholics is not so small as to be negligible. They form less than a seventh of the population of the Province of Quebec, but pay taxes out of all proportion to their numher. They are the chief taxpayers, without them the treasury of the Quebec Legislatnre would be bankrupt. Rising high above the money extorted rises the moral consideration—that British subjects are compelled by law to support schools and colleges whose teaching they sincerely believe is contrary to the Word of God. The Jew declares, "I do not believe the Messiah has come," all the same he is required to pay to teach scholars He has come. The Protestant asserts his unbelief in Transubstantiation and the invocation of saints. "We do not care what your helief is," retort the bishops, "hand out your money that we may engrain these doctrines in the minds of the rising generation." Is this liberty of conscience? Is this regard for the rights of others? When a Briton boasts that the Constitution protects him

from assaults on the tenderest part of his nature—his conscience—let him look to Quebec and see a quarter of a million Protestants forced by law to pay taxes to teach the doctrines of Roman Catholicism. It is vain to plead that provision is made for separate schools wherever there is a sufficient numher of Protestant children. The principle at issue is, has the State the right to take public money to teach the doctrines of any Church? The Protestants of Quebec do not want separate schools, they demand a system of public schools.

AGENCY AGAINST PROTESTANTS

The prevailing school system is a powerful agency to drive Protestants out of the province. Where they are too few to maintain a separate school, they are compelled to help in supporting a school to which they dare not, without doing violence to their consciences, send their children. That they may not grow up in ignorance, they have to sell their farms and move to a country which has a public school system. During the past two score years thousands of farmers for this cause, and no other, have left Quebec, and in three cases out of four, have gone to the United States, where he finds a regard for the rights of conscience denied him under the British flag. At this day there are hundreds of Protestant farmers so isolated that the only schools, are Catholic, and who, keeping their children at home, they are growing up ignorant of the merest elements of education.

I implore the Unionists of Ireland to examine into the state of affairs in the Province of Quebec, and if they do they will become convinced that Home Rule will mean to them the monopolising of education by the hierarchy, that they will be forced to pay taxes to strengthen, extend, and perpetuate the Papacy, and to forge new chains to fetter the consciences of all who renounce her sway.

III.

Having become master of the Legislature, and holding the education of the youth of the province in their hands, it was a short step for the bishops to make the Courts of Quebec the executors of their will. A word of explanation is necessary. In lands where the Union Jack flies, when laws are mentioned they are taken to be the laws of the country —the laws enacted by Parliament, as interpreted by the King's Judges. There is, however, another system of laws, a code peculiar to the Church of Rome. In Protestant countries these laws are held in reserve, in France and Italy they are defied, but where the bishops can manage it, they are put in force, superseding the law of the land This is what has been done in Quebec. To say the British constitution implies self-government is to repeat a truism. It is the reasonable claim of every British subject that he has a voice in making the laws he is expected to obey. When this is not the case, where a British subject is brought under laws he had no voice in framing, which had not received his assent, his rights have been violated, and it is his duty to resist such laws. This is more urgent, when these laws have been moulded not only by foreigners, but by members of an ecclesiastical society. What to the lovers of freedom can possibly be more odious than to submit to rules and regulations designed by a foreign priesthood? Violence is done at once to the central principle of self-government, and the conscience is shocked by being called upon to bow to the authority of a Church he repudiates. Forty years ago there was no mention of canon law in the Province of Quebec, it was a term of which few knew the meaning. To-day canon law is supreme. Canon law is an elaborate assemblage of rules for the governing of members of the Church of Rome. It has its fixed course of procedure, its commentators, its precedents,

its officials. By what authority does the Papacy promulgate these laws and enforce them? Here is the reply of the Canadian bishops, given in a pastoral letter of so late date as May, 1896—

"If the bishops, whose authority issues from God Himself, are the natural judges of all questions which touch upon the Christian faith and morals; if they are the acknowledged heads of a perfect condition of society, sovereign in itself and standing above that of the State; it follows that it is in their province, when circumstances render it desirable, not merely to express generally their views and wishes in regard to religious matters, but also to indicate to the faithful the best means of attaining the spiritual ends in view."

EXAMPLES OF ITS WORKING.

It was some time before non-Catholics realised that there existed among them such an organisation as ecclesiastical courts for the administration of canon law. Attention was first drawn to these Courts by their annulling marriages, and demanding the King's Courts to give their decisions civil effect. Here are a few typical cases. A couple were married by a priest. As to the formalities of the ceremony there was no question raised. After the couple had lived together for a considerable length of time the man wished to get rid of his wife, and asked the Canonical Court to declare their marriage null and void because they were second cousins, a fact he had concealed from the priest who had married them. The Ecclesiastical Court found the canon law had been broken, and, therefore, no marriage had been celebrated. The man's lawyer, producing a decree to that effect, appeared in open Court, and asked one of the King's Judges to give the decision of the Canonical Court civil effect, which he did, and the fellow married another woman. A couple, both Catholics, were married at the altar of a Catholic Church. Tiring of each other, they agreed to separate, and applied to the Canonical Court of the Montreal Diocese. Evidence was led, and the ceremony was declared defective on the ground that the parish priest of neither had officiated at the ceremony, and had received no dispensation from their bishop to act. The Civil Court confirmed the decision, and they were as if they had never pledged their troth to one another. A professed free-thinker married a Protestant, and after four children had been born he got rid of his wife by declaring to a Canonical Court he was a Catholic, and, therefore, the marriage ceremony was of no effect. This is one of several cases where a marriage by a Protestant minister, one of the contracting parties being a Catholic, has been ratified by the King's Courts of the Province of Quebec as no marriage. There is now a case in appeal, where two Catholics visited the house of a Methodist minister, produced the licence required by law and were married. After living together and two children had been born, the man asked the ecclesiastial Court to declare he had not been married, and it did so. The decision was given civil effect by a King's Judge sitting in Montreal. As stated, an appeal has been taken by the woman's friends—the first time the validity of canon law has been questioned as to marriage. Had the M'Cann case happened in Quebec the King's Courts would have ratified the action of the bishop, and neither he nor the children need have disappeared. As the law now stands in Ireland he is amenable to the Courts for his conduct. With Home Rule in force he could snap his fingers at his wife and her friends, as fellows like him do this day in Quebec. The Church of Rome condemns divorce, yet separates couples for causes that a Chicago Judge would not consider, and does so in the name of Christ! The Archbishop of Montreal,

in a pastoral letter dated January 12, 1901, thus stated the claim of his Church—

"The Church, a complete society, which has received from Jesus Christ all power for the government of its members; if it judges expedient, it subordinates the validity of marriage to certain conditions relative to the contracting parties, or to certain exterior formalities, and can in consequence, declare null all marriages contracted outside of these conditions or without these formalities. . . The State cannot establish invalidating impediments to marriage between Christians, neither can it grant dispensation from impediments established by the Church."

NO COMMUNICATION WITH HERETICS.

The decree of the Fifth Council of Quebec reads—

"Catholics, unworthy of the name, dare sometimes to present themselves before heretic ministers, in the capacity of ministers of religion, to contract marriage. Therefore, we warn all the faithful of this province that it is a mortal sin, an enormous scandal, a kind of apostasy, to communicate thus, in Divine things, with heretics, in the affairs of the Church."

An inevitable consequence of Home Rule will be that the validity of the marriage tie will be made dependent on the requirements of canon law. When Quebec was united to Ontario there was no pretension that the King's Courts were inferior to ecclesiastical Courts. Withdraw the Green Isle from the protecting arm of Great Britain and what is now done in Quebec will be done in Ireland, civil law will be subordinated to canonical law, and the Judges on the bench give secular effect to decrees passed in the chambers of Episcopal palaces.

Take another illustration from a different sphere of life. There were newspapers which expressed disapproval of the subserviency shown to the new claims set up by the bishops. This brought out the novelty of the ban. The offended bishop would issue a pastoral letter, commanding his people neither to buy, read, nor keep in their houses the newspaper he condemned. In a Catholic country this was a serious matter even to a professedly Protestant paper. Catholic papers had to suspend or make their peace on humiliating terms. At last one newspaper resolved to appeal to the courts to find out whether there was no redress for ruining a legitimate business, and entered an action for damages against the bishop. Testimony was produced that what had been alleged in the columns of the newspaper was true, that the bishop had condemned it without hearing what its proprietors had to say in defence, and that, as a result of the ban, their business had been ruined. The answer of the bishop was that he had acted within his canonical right, and in the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions he was not amenable to civil courts The Judge upheld this contention. The newspaper appealed to a higher Court, but in vain, the decision of the lower being confirmed. The newspaper owners retired beggared from loss of their property and law costs. Ever since there has been no opposition to the exercise of the ban. When pronounced against a newspaper it disappears. The result is, that the Press of Quebec is the most servile on the American Continent. With one honourable exception, that of the *Montreal Witness*, it fawns upon the priesthood with fulsome deference. A free Press has become an impossibility in Quebec; it will be the same in Ireland should the restraining hand of England and Scotland be withdrawn.

Where there is not freedom of the Press there is not freedom of speech. A candidate for Parliamentary honours or for any public office who spoke his mind regarding

the dominant Church would not have the slightest chance of success even in nominally Protestant constituencies. The rule of the Church is an iron absolutism, under whose withering influence all those attributes of freedom which Britons claim become shadows.

It may he argued that while the Papacy acts thus in the Province of Quebec, there can he no danger of its ever obtaining the same supremacy in Ireland—that conditions are different, that Catholic Irishmen would not have a Parliament dictated to hy clerics, or hand over any of its administrative functions to the bishops; that they would not allow canon law to he placed above civil law, or the King's judges to sink so low as to he the servants of ecclesiastical courts in executing its decrees. This is equivalent to alleging that the relations of Catholics towards their Church differs according to nationality, that what the French Canadian bows his neck to in Quebec is no ground for saying that Catholic Irishmen would do the same in the Green Isle. Does the Papacy not exact the same obedience, exterior conditions being the same, from her people wherever they may live? Has she one rule for Quebec and another for Ireland? It is not what laymen like Redmond say, hut what their Church says, what it demands, and what it exacts where it has the power. All such argument is unnecessary, however, for the point has never been settled hy actual demonstration. There has never heen a Quebec Legislature that did not include Irish Catholics, there has never been a period when there was not one or more Irish Catholics on the Quebec hench. Comparing them with French Canadians, the Irish Catholic members and judges were the more servile to the priesthood. The experience of Quebec will be Ireland's should it submit to bring into existence a Parliament in College Green.

THE POWER OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

IV.

When in a country the majority of whose inhahitants are Catholics the hishops obtain control of the Legislature, they draw heavily on the public purse. Professing to represent Christ, they demand as a right support for what they deem necessary for the maintenance of His cause. It has already heen shown that, under the name of education, they draw £80,000 a year from the Quehec Treasury. In the name of charity, £7,000 is divided among 130 convents. Under the pretence that they maintain classes for teaching farming, seven monastic Orders have £3,000 divided among them each year. One of the Orders which draws a subsidy for teaching agriculture is the Trappiste, whose rule of silence and maceration of the flesh is an outrage on humanity. Over a thousand convents and monasteries receive yearly subsidies from the public chest under the heads education, charity, or agriculture. Not only has the Legislature handed over the education of the rising generation to the Church of Rome, hut the care of the insane. Two Orders of nuns receive yearly for that purpose £70,000. To male Orders £12,000 goes yearly for reformatories. The objection that lies on the surface, that paying public money to support monastic institutions is an outrage on the conscience of those who disapprove of such institutions, can be seconded by considerations of another nature. For instance, the Legislature loses all control over their management. Suggestions as to improvements in methods are resented as impious attacks inspired by bigotry. The accidental visit of two English doctors to the largest asylum revealed that the nuns were treating the insane as they were treated in France a century ago. A Government that gives over

its public institutions to nuns or monks ceases to have an effective voice in their management. Another consideration is that when monastic Orders are entrusted with public institutions they work them for the enrichment of their Church. Thus many are virtually factories. Paying neither rent nor taxes, and most of their labour receiving no wages, they maintain a competition which beggars lay opposition. More and more this form of industry increases, yet it is significant of the awe the Church is held in, that labour unions pass resolutions demanding the Government to protect them against prison manufactures, while they have not a word to say about the greater injury done them hy monks and nuns.

The number of monastic Orders has more than doubled since the day when Quebec got Home Rule. There are now twenty-five distinct Orders of men, with over 3,000 members, and sixty-five of women, with over 10,000 nuns. All these Orders were granted Acts of Incorporation, enabling them to hold real estate and to transact business like secular corporations. The wealth of the older Orders contrasts with the penury of the people surrounding their palatial buildings. Like a huge sponge, the Church of Rome in Quebec absorbs no small share of the earnings of her people, yet is never content, seeking fresh subsidies of public money or more of public lands. An ingenious method by which it increased its revenue under the name of education is worthy of note. The education law, as first enacted, provided that the school rates be allotted according to the faith of those from whom they were collected. The priests envied the large sums paid hy commercial companies, nearly all of them composed of Protestants. They got the Legislature to pass a law to form what was called the "neutral panel," into which the school rates of incorporated companies was to he paid. These rates were to he divided not according to the creed of the partners or shareholders of the companies who paid the school rates, hut according to the number of Catholic or Protestant children in the municipality in which the company's works were located. The result is that hanks,, insurance companies, mercantile and shipping houses, and manufacturing firms see the lion's share of their school rates go to maintain Catholic institutions. In Montreal last year £56,000 was paid into the neutral panel. Divided according to the creed of those who paid that tax, £45,000 would have gone to the support of Protestant or, more correctly speaking, to the non-Catholic schools. Instead, they got £13,300, and the Catholic schools £42,000—a direct contribution of over £30,000 from the Jews and Protestants of Montreal for the support of Catholic schools. This neutral panel is recognised by thousands who pay into it as an infamous violation of the rights of conscience; yet there is no redress, and they submit under force.

One instance more to show how taxes can he so imposed that the non-Catholic will have the burden to hear. The Government of Quebec is poor, and has had until lately difficulty in making ends meet. There have been periods when it had yearly to borrow to meet deficits. To impose a direct tax would he resisted by the habitants, so the problem of successive Administrations has been to get money out of the commercial class, which is practically the Protestant and Jewish class. To do so hy such methods as stamp duties failed, from the Courts declaring them unconstitutional. The end desired was finally reached hy levying a tax on incorporated companies; from loan societies to railways, from factories to banks. The tax varies according to the capital the company has invested in its business, beginning at an eighth of one per cent., and rising in the case of hanks to one per cent. The tax yields £120,000 a year, and, barring a small amount, comes, as has been inti-

mated, out of Jews and Protestants resident on the island of Montreal. The companies in Belfast who lead the world in shipbuilding and other manufacturing industries will become a gold mine to a Home Rule Parliament, supplying the revenue it cannot get in the South or the West, but which it will spend as the South and West representatives order.

GREED OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

Of the greed of the priesthood which leads them to trample on law and the Constitution when their Church can be enriched, a striking instance was their seeking compensation for the forfeiture of property at the Conquest. When Britain conquered Canada, the Jesuit Society was found to be in possession of large estates. The Order was illegal under English law, so the Jesuits were banished, and their lands forfeited to the Crown. Not long afterwards the Pope declared the Order extinct, owing to its crimes. In course of time it was revived under new auspices, with changed regulations and a new personnel. In Canada Jesuits were unknown for ninety years. An Archbishop of Montreal brought back a few in 1842 to establish a college. The Order grew in numbers and influence until it was in a position to demand that it be compensated for the lands the British Government had, over a century before, confiscated. That the confiscation was legal was undeniable, for, apart from the sovereign right of a conqueror to alienate what he sees fit in the country he has vanquished, there was the statute of the Imperial Parliament condemning the Jesuit Order as illegal, and providing penalties for any member found within the realm. The Jesuits, however, pushed their claim, though they could not prove they were the legal successors of the Jesuit body to which the French King had originally given the lands. In their demand the Jesuits were backed by the bishops, on the understanding that of whatever indemnity was obtained they were to get a share. The Government yielded to the clerical influence brought to bear upon it, and finally admitted there was a valid claim, and an agreement as to the amount and how it was to be apportioned was drawn out. With a copy of this agreement the Premier went to Rome, submitted it to the Pope, and received his endorsement. Returning to Quebec, the agreement was embodied in a Bill and submitted to the Legislature. The amount of public money to be paid was £90,000, with a certain amount of public land. When the vote was about to be taken the Premier asked the Catholic members to remember their allegiance was first to the head of their Church, that the Pope had approved of the resolution before them, that the ecclesiastical authorities said the Legislature were holding property that did not belong to them, and if they did not make restitution the members of the Government and of the Legislature would find themselves subject to certain spiritual penalties. To the Protestant members his menace took another form. If any of them dared to oppose the motion they would not be re-elected. He would remind them of the fact that French-Canadians held the balance of power in the counties they represented, and they would crush, by their votes, any member who opposed the measure. There was no opposition. The Bill was passed, the money was paid, and the Jesuits got the land promised them. The preamble of the Bill recognised the sovereignty of the Pope. I presume there are Orders in Ireland who had their land and churches confiscated at the Reformation. With the precedent set by Quebec, they can go before a Home Rule Parliament at Dublin and demand restitution; or, if that has become impossible, that they be paid its value.

LESSONS OF EUCHARISTIC CONFERENCE.

V.

The injury to a country ruled by a Legislature which Roman Catholics control does not end with misappropriation of public money or the breaking of Constitutional rule and practice. There is a further result. The dominance of a clerical party, the ease with which it defies opposition and victoriously carries out its purposes, creates a craven fear in the minority which leads to abject submission to whatever the majority proposes. The active and defiant opposition which was shown at first is succeeded by a complacent yielding, which ends in connivance, sometimes open assistance, in carrying out the designs of legislators who draw their inspiration from the black robes who hover in the background. Nothing is more humiliating than the spectacle of Protestants urging non-resistance to measures that are suicidal to civil liberty, counselling silence and compliance because opposition would be futile, and holding out the prospect of getting "something" from the party in power. The dog that has been kicked into submission, not even emitting a growl, will be given a bone. The poor fellow who feels the hand of a stranger in his pockets will be left a shilling or two if he smilingly says to his assailant, "It is all right." I cannot better convey an idea of this change in the sentiment of Protestants, this peculiar atmosphere, produced by forty-five years of Home Rule in the Province of Quebec, than by describing the Eucharistic Congress which was held in Montreal in September, 1910. That such a Congress should have been held in Montreal was not remarkable, for Catholics form the majority of its citizens; but the manner in which the members of that Congress were received, the perversion of municipal and Parliamentary functions to do them honour, the glorification of the purpose of that Congress by Protestants, was remarkable, and of a significance which did not appear on the surface. With an assemblage of Catholics for a purpose peculiarly ecclesiastical, outsiders have nought to do beyond securing that their meetings be undisturbed that they come and go in peace; but when such a gathering is made the occasion of showing how the Provincial and Federal Government is subservient to it, public money used to meet its expenses, troops detailed to add to its pomp, and the streets of a great city placed under its control, there is occasion for protest and pointing out the lessons it brings home to the Unionists of Ireland.

To hold a convention in honour of the Eucharist is modern; the first was held in 1899. The object of these annual gatherings is to glorify the alleged power of the priest to convert a wafer of flour into the body, blood, and divinity of Christ. They are not held for the benefit of Catholics, who do not need to be told that, for they already believe their priests have that power, but to flaunt the doctrine, with all the emphasis numbers and gorgeous ceremonial can give, in the face of the world, in the expectation of spreading it. These congresses, while designed to impress the public mind with the strength and magnificence of the Papacy, have for their actual motive the making of converts. The Congress came to Montreal as a propaganda of Papal doctrine.

The occasion was one for a conscientious upholding of their convictions by believers in the pure Evangel. How the Protestants of Quebec acted will appear from the narrative. Lord Strathcona is a Protestant, yet he contributed more munificently to the success of the Congress than any Catholic. The Canadian railway and steamship service was placed at the disposal of the delegates, and Lord Strathcona's magnificent mansion in Montreal, with its household and equip-

ment, was the home of the more prominent Papal delegates. The Empress of Ireland, the finest of the C.P.R. fleet, was specially fitted for the bishops and their attendants, who numbered nearly 300—largely Belgians. At either end of the cabin altars had been erected, and forty masses were daily celebrated on them. Entering the Gulf of St. Lawrence a wireless message of welcome was wafted to the Pope's legate from the acting-representative of the Governor-General of Canada, temporarily absent. Where the gulf narrows into the St. Lawrence a bedecked steamer came alongside the Empress with a delegation from Montreal to hail the coming of the Papal party. The Empress, by this time, had been made gay with streamers, the Papal flag being given prominent place, so that those on shore knew the Cardinal had come. On arrival at Quebec a numerous delegation came aboard, which was not altogether composed of priests, for among the clerical dignitaries were two members of the Dominion Cabinet, who bent the knee to Cardinal Vannutelli and kissed his ring. When Redmond or other Home Rulers tell the people of Ulster they have nothing to fear in having their religious susceptibilities offended by a Dublin Government, let them know this, that one of the Cabinet Ministers who travelled from Ottawa to Quebec to do homage to the Cardinal is an Irish Catholic, that he went in his official capacity, using a Government steamship for the purpose, and that the expenses of the Papal party, from the time they boarded the steamship at Quebec until she landed them at Montreal, were defrayed out of the Federal Treasury. As the sequel will prove, the Canadian Government fully identified itself with the Congress, and so, if ever there is a Home Rule Government, will it identify itself when a Eucharistic Congress is held in Dublin. At Quebec the arrival of the party was hailed by such a demonstration as no Royal visitor to it ever met; its streets a blaze of colour, its hundred bells pealing. Escorted by a military guard, and clad in their robes, Cardinals and Bishops held the city. On a throne erected on the terrace which commands one of the noblest views in the world, the Cardinal received the homage of the Cabinet Ministers of Quebec, of the judges, of the City Council. In his address the Mayor indicated what many Catholics hoped for when he said—"It is our wish that the Eucharistic Congress at Montreal may bring over our Canadian people more and more to the good traditions of our Church." Next day the Papal party again embarked on the Government steamship, making calls at Three Rivers and Sorel, where great demonstrations were made. The reception at Montreal was marred by heavy rain.

THE ROME OF THE NEW WORLD.

Stepping into Lord Strathcona's carriage, the Cardinal was driven to the City Hall, which was elaborately decorated. On the Cardinal taking the throne prepared for him, the Mayor read a long and inflated address, as may be judged by these sentences:—

"With joy we hail you! Welcome! Ten thousand times welcome! And while I, who am signally honoured, speak these words, they are wafted from lip to lip throughout our beloved Canadian land. . . . From the Rome of the Old World you come to the Rome of the New, for such has this City of Churches been happily designated. The same invincible arm which holds on high the torch of Faith upon the Hill of the Vatican, illumines us across the seas, and beckons us ever onward in the unfailing light of the Infallible Church. . . In the name of all the citizens of Montreal, I beg of you to enter our city with the assurance of the respect and hospitality which awaits you."

Let it be noted, the Mayor of Montreal who spoke thus is an Irish Catholic. What faith can Unionists place in the promise of Home Rulers that they will not use their official positions to promote their creed? A more notable reception of the Papal delegation followed when the message from the Pope was read, and of one sent to King George by Cardinal Vannutelli, and his reply.

"To his Majesty King George V., London.

"The Catholics of the Empire, bishops, priests, laity, present at the International Eucharistic Congress in Montreal, pray your Majesty to accept their respectful homage of unswerving loyalty and their expression of profound gratitude for the modification made in the Royal Declaration. With them the other visiting members of the congress, hailing from all parts of the world, wish your Majesty and the Royal Family continued happiness and prosperity.

VANNUTELLI.

"His Eminence Cardinal Vannutelli, Montreal:—

"I sincerely thank your Eminence and all who are present at the International Eucharistic Congress in Montreal for the expression of loyalty and good wishes contained in the telegram which I have received to-day with much pleasure and satisfaction.

GEORGE R.I."

Of the receptions and tributes paid to the Pope's delegate it would take too much space to tell. Three, however, stand out from the rest, for they were official recognitions by the Government. One was by the Cabinet of Quebec, which took the form of a luncheon, and was presided over by the Premier. The Dominion Government was not called upon to do anything. As representing nine provinces whose united population give a large preponderance of non-Catholics, its attitude ought to have been strict neutrality. Instead, it sent a delegation, which included three Protestant members of the Cabinet, to hold a reception in honour of the Cardinal. The third reception was by the City of Montreal, the largest and most costly of the three. The majority of the City Council practically placed Montreal at the disposal of the delegates for a week. One day it proclaimed as a civic holiday, calling on all to suspend business; when there were processions it barred all traffic, and gave an exclusive use of the streets; it maintained guards, and ran up heavy bills of which the non-Catholic ratepayers had to pay the larger part. Only once did these ratepayers show any sign of independence. When they saw decorators at work at the Post Office they seemed to consider what they would submit to from the Provincial authorities they would not from the Dominion Government. No effective remonstrance was made, and the costly decorations were completed. Again, when the scarlet uniforms of the military were seen surrounding the Papal dignitaries there were whispers of dissatisfaction. They were unheeded, and the week ended with the Host being carried along the streets escorted by men wearing the King's uniform.

THE CATHOLIC RELIGION THE RELIGION OF THE STATE.

From the start, the effort to affirm that the Catholic religion is the religion of the State was apparent. No occasion was missed to so mingle the representatives of the Government with the Papal leaders as to identify them with each movement. The most signal instance was an assembly in the largest church, into which 15,000 crowded, with thousands outside. The splendid interior, decorated with the Papal colours and blazing with electric lights, had been transformed for the occasion. The Host had been removed, and an elevated platform

spanned the space within the altar rails. High on a throne sat the Pope's delegate, with Cardinal Logue on his left, and the Archbishop of Montreal on his right, with a vast array of clergy brilliantly costumed. The Legate referred to the success of the Congress having been largely due to the manner in which Canada had received the delegates. "I feel bound," he said, "to express my gratitude to the Federal, Provincial, and municipal authorities and Government for the manner in which this Congress has been welcomed." A Belgian Bishop reiterated this, saying—"One of the rare things seen at this Congress was the high support in evidence in Montreal from civil authorities." Then representatives of the authorities so praised were called upon to speak, Sir Wilfrid Laurier coming first, then the Premier of Quebec. Sir Lomer Gouin failed to speak with the tact of the Premier from Ottawa, and touched on the connection that he considered should subsist between Church and State:—"When the Church teaches, we believe; when she commands, we obey; when she is attacked, we defend her. . . . The State recognises without any reservation the rights of the Church, and it allows her to move freely within her sphere. Far from considering her as an enemy to be fought or a rival to be checked, it treats her as an ally. . . . May the Church and State always live here in the most perfect harmony and with sympathetic respect one for the other."

These sentences will give an idea of the views of the head of the Quebec Legislature. To him there is only one Church—the Papal. A clerical dignitary remarked that this was the first time the Congress had been received by leaders of Parliament. Of the addresses delivered by public men at that and other receptions the most obsequious in tone was that of Judge Doherty, an ardent advocate of Irish Home Rule. He begged the Legate, when he returned to "the great Pontiff, the Holy Father," to bear his homage and the assurance of the filial devotion of his children in Canada. This man, who professed to glory in resigning his will to the priesthood, was called to the Cabinet by the Right Hon. R. Borden, and is at this hour Minister of Justice for the Dominion of Canada. The Congress ended with a great procession from the centre of the city to the public park, where the Council had given permission to erect a gorgeous altar. The chief figure in a procession estimated at 40,000 was the Papal delegate, who carried the Host beneath a silken canopy, and as he passed the spectators fell on their knees. Before and behind the canopy were the military. There were two Cardinals beside the Legate, Papal chamberlains in bright uniforms, seventy bishops in cope and mitre, and nearly fifty archbishops. Behind the prelates were a thousand altar boys in red cassocks, some swinging smoking censors. Members of devotional societies and of Orders, monks, and nuns, came in apparently unending succession. Last of all were the laymen. The Governor-General of Canada was represented by his administrator, the Premier of the Dominion walked with several of his colleagues, as did the Premier of Quebec, then the Mayor and Aldermen, and what was strangest of all, considering the impartiality expected from them, the judges in their robes. The Speaker of the House of Commons took part not as a Catholic, but as representing the Dominion Parliament over which he presides, for he walked clad in the Speaker's robe and hat. In brief, nothing was omitted that day to blazon, with all the emphasis legions and pageantry can give, that Romanism is supreme in Quebec and makes the Dominion authorities bow to its sway. On the procession swept for four hours, with singing and chanting, the crash of brass bands, the ringing of multitudinous bells, the booming of artillery, until the park was reached. It was now growing dark.

Suddenly a huge cross of electric lights flashed into sight as if by magic to mark the spot where the Pope's delegate was reciting the prescribed service. As he viewed the hillside black with kneeling forms he must have realised how, by crafty Constitutional changes, a British colony can be transformed into a Papal appanage, and find confirmation for the words he uttered at a meeting of the Congress—"Why should I not express this hope? Am I not permitted to evoke the wish that this nation, daughter of France, which was called New France, the Canadian nation, I say, may give to Jesus in the Eucharist an incomparable triumph and obtain the Divine clemency for this country."

Of the theological side of the Congress it is not my place to speak here—the numerous papers read, addresses, sermons, symposiums, to magnify the Eucharist—I confine myself to its secular aspect, its bearing on civil rights. Let Unionists note this—that among the most active, the most prominent in taking advantage of the public positions to which they had been called, whether municipal or Parliamentary, to magnify the Papal cause, to give it all the authority their official position could bestow, and to appropriate the taxpayers' money to defray its expenses, were Irish Catholics—the Guerins, Dohertys, Murphys, M'Shanes, O'Connels, Purcells, &c.—men who subscribe when Redmond and Tay Pay come begging, and tell the men of Ulster they have nothing to fear from Home Rule.

When Quebec was united with Ontario such a demonstration would have been impossible. Forty-five years of Home Rule explains how it came to be possible. Such a Congress could not be held in Belfast to-day. Let Ulster be torn from the protection of Britain, and in forty-five years every feature of the assemblage at Montreal can be reproduced in its capital.

THE NEED FOR CAUTION.

VI.

The man who wishes to think well of his fellows, the man who holds the world is growing better, wants to believe there has been a change in the Church of Rome, that it is not what it was in past history, that there is no longer cause to fear its predominance. To invoke the record of the seventeenth or eighteenth century as applicable to the twentieth, such a man makes light of. Times have changed, the Church has changed; there is no longer any risk, he says, in giving its priesthood a free hand. The experience of Quebec contradicts that, and investigation will prove that, from the very nature of the Papacy, in whatever country it obtains sovereign power, government by the people and for the people becomes impossible. This is why? The Papacy asserts it is a perfect society, drawing its authority directly from God, and that it represents Christ upon earth. It is above all secular governments, and all other Churches are pretenders. The charge that the Papacy claims to be superior to all secular authority is often met by the assertion that there is a limitation, that it is only in the Church's allotted sphere it asserts its supremacy. I am not going back to dusty times to quote the letters of Popes or the dictums of theologians to disprove this. Enough for me the declaration of the Canadian hierarchy in their Pastoral Letter of 1896—"If the bishops, whose authority issues from God Himself, are the natural judges of all questions which touch upon the Christian faith and morals; if they are the acknowledged heads of a perfect condition of society, sovereign in itself and standing above that of the State, it follows that it is in their province, when circumstances render it desirable, not merely to express generally their views and wishes

in regard to religious matters, but also to indicate to the faithful the best means of attaining the spiritual ends in view."

With the bishops claiming the sole right to define what falls under their authority and what does not, how can it be denied that the rule they seek is sovereign? No body of laymen dare define the limits of their power, no Parliament question their right to dictate what it should do. Wherever the Church of Rome has a free field, it becomes supreme. Remove the check upon her claims in Ireland, afforded by union with Scotland and England, and her bishops will get the mastery, the Dublin Parliament will be their creature, judges and Courts will enforce the decrees of canonical tribunals—the supreme object not the welfare of the people, but the enriching, the aggrandising of the Papacy. Home Rulers scoff at such assertions as the outcome of ignorance and prejudice. I have heard Catholics on platform and hustings make profession of the widest tolerance, the most ardent attachment to the principles of civil and religious freedom as embodied in the British Constitution, yet who, when they had become members of Parliament or been elevated to the Bench, stultified their words. I do not say these men were insincere, that they were seeking support under false pretences; far from it; I am assured they felt as they spoke. Conditions changed with them when they came to fill official positions, and they learned that not their will, but that of their Church was to prevail, and I pitied instead of blaming them, for I knew they were doing what they would not do had they been left to themselves. The danger of Sacerdotalism is not realised in this regard. If you, my reader, were convinced that one of your fellow-men was endowed with rare spiritual power, that he was the medium through whom God spoke His will and Christ conveyed His benefits, that this man held the keys that would ensure your salvation, and was your Divinely appointed guide, you would have to accept the counsels of that man without reserve. Indeed, you would count it as an act of merit to stifle your own inclinations and yield him implicit obedience. Individual responsibility is loosened, and not God, but a fellow-mortal is made master of the conscience. When a Catholic occupies a place where he holds the destiny of his country in his hand, he is not free to act according to his judgment, for when an order comes from the bishop's palace he will obey it, no matter how distasteful. The loyalists of Ireland should keep this in mind, that in respect to the Home Rulers they are not dealing with men standing on the same plane as themselves, men able to make good their promises, but with men who have given the control of their wills into the hands of a select caste, and whom they have either to obey or be pronounced by them anathema. It is possible to live with Catholics not only in peace, but in warm friendship, to exchange neighbourly kindnesses, and abide together in growing mutual respect, but it does not do to give them, without sufficient check, the government of those who are of another creed, for the simple and perfectly intelligible reason, that they will not govern according to their individual judgment. Their Church will take the reins and rule through them. In the case of Ireland, Union with Great Britain is the sufficient check, and that check the Unionists are justified in fighting to maintain to the last gasp.

THE USELESSNESS OF GUARANTEES.

One of the prominent men of the Confederation era was Sir Alexander Tulloch Galt, distinguished alike for ability and character, the best Finance Minister Canada has known. His home was in the Province of Quebec, and he knew its people as only a resident can. When the proposal was made to separate the two Provinces, giving

Quebec Home Rule, the Protestants of that Province looked to him for guidance. He had his doubts as to what might happen when the check Ontario supplied was removed, and it was not until he had received what he considered ample assurances and guarantees for the protection of the minority that he advised acceptance of Confederation. Had he counselled otherwise, the Protestants of Quebec would have resisted the dissolution of the Union. This eminent political leader, clear-sighted and disinterested, when he had seen the result of a few years' experience of separation from Ontario, confessed he had been mistaken, and regretted the advice he had given. "The conclusion is inevitable," he wrote, "from the nature of the means employed, that a deep-laid plan exists for the complete subjugation of the Province of Quebec to ecclesiastical rule." So wrote the statesman when Quebec had been separated from Ontario only thirteen years. Had he been spared to see the developments of the following thirty years, his worst fears would have been confirmed. Where circumstances favour the Church of Rome, in any country where her followers form the majority, government by the people becomes nominal—the priesthood rule, and rule for their own aggrandisement and that of their Church. When Quebec was granted Home Rule it ceased to be British, it became Papal—give Ireland Home Rule and the like result will follow.

No limit can be set to a power that lays claim to universal sway; no agreement will stand made with men who claim Divine attributes. It is distressing to say this, yet if Catholics will fairly consider the position of Protestants they cannot complain. When they choose to subject their freedom of action to a secret organisation, to blindly do what a fellow-being orders them, are Protestants to blame in refusing to deal with them as free agents in affairs in which their Church has an interest? They believe their clergy are a Divine caste, that what they order is not to be questioned, but to be obeyed. Is it not presumption for them to ask those who do not think so, who regard the Sacerdotal claim of their priests as blasphemous, to place themselves in a situation where the will of those priests will rule them? Were the Home Rulers free from entangling spiritual obligations, were they independent, shaping their course as their judgment led them, a Parliament of which they would form a majority would cause no apprehension; but when we know they are not freemen, that they reverence a voice other than that of their own judgment, that, whenever the interests of their Church are concerned, they will vote as their clerical monitors tell them, surely Protestants are justified in standing up and saying decisively, and once for all, that they will sooner die than be governed by a Parliament which is inspired and controlled by the Church of Rome. The instinct of self-preservation dictates that.

EXPERIENCE OF QUEBEC—A WARNING.

A higher incentive is duty to resist claims which trench on those attributes that belong to God alone. The experience of the Province of Quebec is the experience of every country where Catholics are in the majority—the government is not by the people and for the people, but by the priests and for their Church. A Constitutional organisation and forms do not necessarily imply a free government. The common, the easy reply of Home Rulers to the objection here raised is to call those who make it bigots, and to discourse gushingly on the odiousness of bigotry. Now, I hold that whatever Unionists may be, it is not for the Home Rulers to charge them with bigotry. Who is it that claims their Church to be the only true Church, and all other religious organisations to be only pretences? Who is

it that teaches their children there is no salvation outside their Church, and that Protestants are heretics? Who is it that builds walls to divide the community, to keep their people, by ritual and ceremony, from birth to the grave, separate from their Protestant neighbours? Who is it that once a year formally pronounce from their altars the dreadful sentence of anathema on all who do not think as they do? More dreadful still, who is it that makes strife between man and wife, and demands security, when there is a mixed marriage, that the unborn child shall be sealed to the Papacy? In face of this, Mr. Redmond and his followers bring against Unionists a railing charge of bigotry!

I am done. I have lived fifty years in the Province of Quebec, and have watched closely its public affairs. I have seen settlements of Protestants dwindle and disappear, Protestantism become apologetic, free, outspoken public opinion wither, and its place has come an atmosphere of cowardice and servility. When I saw a like fate threaten Protestant Ireland, I felt it my duty to tell what I knew, that it might enlighten the heedless, and strengthen the arms of those who are awake to the danger. Reviewing all I have known in Quebec, pondering on the changes in Constitution I have witnessed and their results, I say it deliberately—the duty of the Unionists of Ireland is to risk all, even their lives, rather than bow their necks to Home Rule. In this crisis of your history it would be trite to say the eyes of the world are upon you. The eye of God is upon you; put your trust in Him and do your duty.

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